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This is the author's manuscript
Original Citation:
Availability:
This version is available http://hdl.handle.net/2318/1858954 since 2022-05-11T18:50:47Z
Published version:
DOI:10.1177/0959683619826657
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1 Accepted for 2019 publication in *The Holocene*

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Human demography changes in Morocco and environmental imprint during the Holocene

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Keywords: Human demography; Holocene; Morocco; anthropogenic pollen markers; fossil records; land
 cover

28 Abstract

29 The aim of this work is to reconstruct the periods of growth and decline of human populations in Morocco and their potential impacts on the landscape over the last 10,000 years. 30 31 In order to estimate trends in human population size between 10,000 and 3,000 years ago we used a Summed Probability Distribution (SPD) of radiocarbon dates from a wide range of 32 33 archaeological sites throughout Morocco. Landscape changes were identified and quantified from a data set of fossil pollen records. Different anthropogenic pollen markers, as well as 34 35 natural vegetation groups and taxonomic richness were used to analyze the relationship 36 between long-term trends in human population expansion or regression and type of impact on 37 the landscape.

Sub-regions of Morocco have different topographies and climates, which have either 38 39 favored or prevented the establishment and/or spread of human populations. In order to identify areas most significantly impacted by humans and the timing of such impacts we have 40 41 reconstructed and compared the same past anthropogenic and landscape proxies along with 42 population trends within the lowlands and the mountainous areas. The lowlands were more 43 strongly impacted earlier in the Holocene than the mountainous areas. Anthropogenic markers 44 indicate that farming expanded in the lowlands during the first major expansion of human 45 populations between ca. 7200 and 6700 calibrated years BP at the start of the Neolithic period. 46 In the Atlas and Rif Mountains anthropogenic impact is not clearly detectable in any of these areas before 4000 cal. BP. 47

48 Introduction

49 Humans have been present in the northwest corner of Africa throughout the Quaternary. 50 For example, fossil remains of Homo sapiens more than 300,000 years old were recently discovered in Jebel Irhoud, near the town of Safi in Morocco (Hublin et al. 2017). This time span, 51 52 which encompasses the latter part of the Palaeolithic period, witnessed three climatic cycles 53 with marked interglacials that were similar to the Holocene, and long glacial periods (e.g. Hays 54 et al. 1976). During the most recent glacial period, around 20,000 years BP, glaciers developed 55 even at low latitudes, such as within the Mediterranean (Hughes et al. 2006) including North Africa at elevations as low as 2000 m a.s.l. (Hughes et al. 2011, Hughes et al., 2018). As a 56 consequence, plant and animal species were naturally constrained, which reduced their range 57 substantially and allowed them to persist only in refugial areas (e.g. Hewitt, 2000). Likewise, 58 humans would have adapted their population size and habitats locations in response to past 59 climate fluctuations (Roberts et al. 2018; van de Loosdrecht et al., 2018). 60

61 The recolonisation of new suitable habitats by humans after the last glacial period from 62 scattered populations was probably neither synchronous throughout the Mediterranean nor 63 continuous and homogeneous during the Holocene warm period (Hajar et al. 2010; Mercuri and 64 Sadori 2012). This may explain the asynchronous dating of the beginning and end of the 65 Neolithic in the Mediterranean (Morales et al. 2013; Linstädter et al. 2018). In terms of impact 66 on the landscape, as soon as human populations began to settle and/or to spread in the 67 Mediterranean basin they left clear imprints of their activities (cultivation, fire, domestication, 68 clearing, use of tools etc.) directly in the areas they occupied and indirectly in the fossil records preserved in wetlands sediment archives and lakes. Most Holocene fossil records tend to show 69 70 that there were natural changes during the first thousand years of the Holocene when climate 71 mainly forced ecosystem changes, which was followed by complex interactions with increasing 72 human interference. Some authors have proposed that climate was the main driver of synchronous ecosystem changes in the Mediterranean during the entire Holocene and that 73 74 landscape changes cannot be attributed to human activity alone (Jalut et al. 2009). Other 75 scholars have argued that there is an interplay between climate, humans and Mediterranean ecosystems, which becones complex to unravel when aridity increased during and after the 76 77 mid-Holocene (Carrión et al. 2010; Mercuri 2008; Sadori et al. 2011).

78 In Morocco, the earliest Holocene human use of pant resources was detected in the semi-79 arid lowlands of the Northeast Moroccan hinterland. Charcoal samples from rock shelters 80 (Grösdorf and Eiwanger, 1999) and Epipalaeolithic open air sites (Ibouhouten et al., 2010, Linstädter et al., 2012; Mikdad et al., 2000) provide ¹⁴C ages between 11,700 and 7,800 years 81 82 cal. BP. In the Middle Atlas Mountains, there are indications of early Holocene occupation 83 during the Epipalaeolithic with chronological evidence dating to around 8,400 cal BP from 84 Ouberid cave (Mikdad et al. 2012). However, the ecological impact of Epipalaeolithic hunter-85 gatherers on the Early Holocene landscape was minor, therefore this early occupation is not 86 clearly reflected in secondary environmental archives. Thefirst evidence for human impact on 87 vegetation cover is provided by recent and precise archaeobotanical studies that have dated 88 the onset of Early Neolithic occupation in northern Morocco, close to the Mediterranean Sea, 89 between 7700-7200 years cal. BP (Linstädter et al. 2016; Zapata et al. 2013).

Indirect evidence from fossil pollen records suggests that human impact has strongly increased over the last four thousand years in Morocco and became increasingly apparent at both low and high elevations (Lamb et al. 1991; Cheddadi et al. 2015, Campbell et al. 2017). In addition to fossil pollen records, model simulations show that during the historic period, forest cover on usable land may have dropped dramatically from an estimated 98% in 3000 BP to 31.7% in 1850 AD (Kaplan et al. 2009) in relation to the expansion of human population. In Morocco, cedar forest cover in the Rif mountains decreased by about 75% between 1960 and 97 2010 (Cheddadi et al. 2017).

98 Human activities can be identified in the fossil pollen records through the occurrence and 99 abundance of those taxa that are considered anthropogenic indicators (Behre 1981; Mercuri et 100 al. 2011). Changes through time in human population size can also be estimated from the 101 summed probability distributions (SPD) of archaeological (e.g. anthropogenic) radiocarbon 102 dates (Crema et al. 2016; Gamble et al. 2004; Palmisiano et al. 2017 and in press; Shennan et al. 103 2013; Timpson et al. 2014; Weninger et al. 2009; Williams 2012; Zielhofer et al. 2008).

In the present study, we estimated the size of human population in Morocco for the time period between 10,000 and 3000 cal BP and compared population variation during the Holocene to several anthropogenic pollen indicators as well as to reconstructed natural vegetation groups and past taxonomic richness derived from an extensive data-set of fossil pollen records.

109 Morocco has a wide range of topographies with highest elevations ranging from 2500 in the Rif mountain chain up to more than 4000masl in the High Atlas. There are also large coastal 110 lands and plains, which are intensively cultivated today. These complex topographic features 111 112 have almost certainly constrained the spread and settlement of humans throughout the 113 Moroccan landscape. The main objectives of this study are threefold (1) to reconstruct overall 114 human demographic changes in Morocco during the later prehistory (2) to identify different 115 past human activities in different areas using a set of anthropogenic markers from a dataset of 116 fossil pollen records and (3) to evaluate the spread of human activities and their impacts both on the lowlands and mountain landscapes. 117

118 Materials and Methods

119 Anthropogenic markers, natural vegetation groups and taxonomic richness

120 The pollen data-set used in the present study includes 22 records from different areas 121 in Morocco, obtained from both original authors and digitized published work (figure 1A, table 122 1). There are two sites, Lake Hachlaf and Lake Sidi Ali, where two records were collected in 123 each lake. We integrated these duplicated records because they encompass different time 124 periods. The Moroccan pollen records were produced by various analysts over a ca. 40 year 125 period, between 1976 and 2017 and have been dated relatively accurately by conventional and AMS radiocarbon dating. Some of the oldest pollen records (Reille, 1976; 1977 and 1979) have 126 127 been dated using very few radiocarbon dates. Three pollen records (Marzine in the Rif, 128 Tessaout and Tizi Inouzane in the High Atlas) for which the published chronologies were based 129 on just one ¹⁴C date (Reille, 1976; 1977), while one record (Iguerda-Ait-Amama in the Middle Atlas) has not been dated by any radiometric methods (Reille, 1976). The age/depth models 130 131 that we have built for these four pollen records are based on the published original author's assumptions based on stratigrahic markers and expertise. The time spans proposed by the 132 original author (Atlantic, Sub-boreal and Sub-Atlantic periods) have been used to build a 133 quantitative chronology for the four pollen records. 134

Within the dataset, there are five pollen records located at elevations lower than 800m 135 asl. Two of them encompass the Early Holocene and three others only cover the mid- late 136 137 Holocene (after 6500 BP). Thus, in the data-set used in this study, there are more pollen records 138 that encompass the entire Holocene period in the mountains than in the lowlands. Such bias in 139 the duration and the spatial distribution of the pollen records in Morocco must be taken into 140 account when interpreting the occurrence of anthropogenic markers and overall vegetation 141 changes. All of the pollen records compiled have been archived in a MySQL database, which has 142 compatible with Pollen а structure the European Database 143 (www.europeanpollendatabase.net). The Moroccan pollen data will be contributed to the 144 European Pollen Database (Leydet, 2007-2018).

We defined five anthropogenic pollen markers (APMs) from the taxa identified in the fossil pollen records (table 2). These APMs are based on earlier published research and are considered indicative of human activities (Behre 1981; Mercuri 2008; Mercuri et al. 2011; 2013a; 2013b; Sadori et al. 2011). The reconstructed APMs include:

- 149 Anthropogenic pollen index (API)
- 150 Regional pastoral indicators (RPI)
- 151 Anthropogenic nitrophilous herbs (ANH)
- 152 Cultures and crops (CC)
- 153 Olea-Juglans-Castanea-Vitis (OJCV)

154 We selected these five APMs to allow comparisons with a selection of similar studies 155 based on six other regions spanning the Mediterranean and a Mediterranean-wide synthesis of 156 Holocene population and landscape change (see Bevan et al., in press, Roberts et al., in press). 157 In Morocco, these APMs were reconstructed for three separate regions: the Rif Mountains, the 158 Atlas Mountains and lowland sites (located at an elevation lower than 800m asl). The three sub-159 regions were then amalgamated and reconstructions produced, for the entire country as one 160 overall entity that takes all of the pollen records into account (figure 2). One palynological difference with these similar studies carried out in other Mediterranean regions is the exclusion 161 162 of Artemisia from the APMs because it is a natural dominant taxon in Moroccan steppe landscapes which occurs in the mountainous areas (e.g. Saadi and Bernard, 1991). Thus, 163 Artemisia was not considered an anthropogenic marker in the present study. In addition to the 164 APMs, we reconstructed the pollen taxonomic richness (figure 3) using rarefaction analysis 165 166 (Birks and Line 1992) for the same areas and pollen records as the APMs. Fossil pollen samples represent a partial representation of the anemophilous plants, due to the differing pollen 167 productivity of different plants and their dissimilar dispersal capacity. The number of identified 168 169 and counted pollen grains is also often, if not always, different from one analyzed sample to 170 another within the same record. Rarefaction analysis provides an unbiased estimate of the number of taxa in a fossil sample which allows a comparison of the pollen analyses from 171 different samples in the same record (Birks and Line 1992). However, one should keep in mind 172 that the pollen taxonomic richness does not represent a measure of the species diversity, *sensu* 173 174 Shannon or Simpson indices, as one pollen taxon may correspond to one or several species and 175 the pollen percentage in a fossil sample does not correspond to the number of occurrences of 176 the species in the studied site. Modern human activities often result is negative impact on 177 species diversity. Pollen taxonomic richness is not a direct indicator of past human 178 disturbances, but it may help comprehend whether the past human demographic changes had 179 a negative or positive impact on species diversity.

In addition to the APMs and pollen taxonomic richness, we also used clusters of pollen taxa to identify four natural vegetation groups (figure 4) that represent the main ecosystem types in Morocco (Quézel and Médail, 2003). These natural vegetation groups are ordered by increasing elevation (1) evergreen trees and shrubs, (2) deciduous trees, (3) mountain conifers, and (4) steppe (table 3). This is based on grouping pollen samples into 'vegetation clusters' according to their taxa assemblages and builds on the cluster analysis approach used by Woodbridge et al. (2018) and Fyfe et al. (2018).

187 Demographic change over the Holocene

In the past two decades one of the most popular proxies for inferring demographic trends in the prehistoric period has involved summed probability distributions (SPDs) of archaeological radiocarbon dates as a result of increasingly sophisticated methods (Rick, 1987; Shennan and Edinborough, 2007; Bocquet-Appel et al., 2009; Shennan et al., 2013; Timpson et al., 2014; Balsera et al., 2015; Crema et al., 2016; Bevan et al., 2017; Palmisano et al.; 2017; Gapuzzo et al. 2018). The SPD results from 'counting up' (summed in the manner of a 194 histogram) the calibrated raw radiocarbon years of each organic sample, which are expressed 195 as probability statements with error ranges. This is based on the assumption that the more people living in a given region, the more archaeological remains, the more organic materials, 196 and the more samples can be collected for radiocarbon dating (Rick 1987). Such indicators do 197 198 not offer good evidence for absolute numbers of a human poplation but rather give an idea of 199 relative intensities of population and proportional change through time. Although SPDs of 200 radiocarbon dates has been extensively used by archaeologists for modelling population 201 fluctuations in prehistory, it faces several challenges such as biases in research strategies, 202 budgets and interests that can undermine a random sample of human activity in every 203 archaeological phase.

204 Over the past ten years, both the number and the accuracy of radiocarbon dates have 205 increased in most newly investigated archaeological sites. This is the case in Morocco, where 206 more than two-thirds of the radiocarbon dates used in the present study were published in the 207 past decade. In the present study we have estimated human population size in Morocco from 208 270 uncalibrated radiocarbon dates which have been collected from 83 archaeological sites 209 (figure 1B) between 10,000 and 3000 cal BP. To our knowledge, the dataset used in this work 210 represents the largest existing collation of archaeological radiocarbon data for Morocco. This 211 number of dates collected (n=270) exceeds the suggested minimum threshold of 200-500 dates 212 to produce a reliable SPD with reduced statistical fluctuation for a time interval of 10,000 years; specific issues about sample size will be discussed below (Michczyńska and Pazdur, 2004; 213 Michczyńska et al., 2007; Williams, 2012, 580-581). We are aware of the limitations of our 214 215 dataset and the results are a preliminary attempt to reconstruct demographic change given the spatially restricted archaeological data available in the area. 216

All of the radiocarbon dates are from archaeological contexts, with the majority based on 217 samples of bone, charcoal and wood. Radiocarbon dates obtained from marine sources, such as 218 219 shells have been removed (and are not part of the above total) to avoid the complicated issues arising from unknown or poorly understood marine reservoir offsets. The probabilities from 220 221 each calibrated date have been combined to produce a summed probability distribution (SPD, figure 5)¹. The potential bias of oversampling particular site-phases has been reduced by 222 223 aggregating multiple uncalibrated radiocarbon dates from the same site that are within 100 224 years of each other and dividing by the number of dates that fall within this time 'bin' (see 225 Timpson et al. 2014). Following this process, the probabilities of each bin are summed: in our 226 case, 270 radiocarbon dates have been aggregated into 207 bins. Following previous works 227 (Weninger et al. 2015; Williams 2012), which show that normalized calibrated dates emphasize 228 narrow artificial peaks in SPDs due to steepening portions of the radiocarbon calibration curve, 229 we opted to use unnormalized dates prior to summation and calibrated via the IntCal13 curve 230 (Reimer et al. 2013; see former applications of calibrated unnormalized radiocarbon dates in 231 Bevan et al. 2017; Palmisano et al. 2017; Roberts et al. 2018). A logistic null model representing 232 expected population increase has been fitted to the observed SPD in order to produce a 95% 233 confidence envelope (composed of 1,000 random SPDs) and statistically test if the observed 234 pattern significantly departs from this model (for the general approach see Shennan et al 2013; 235 Timpson et al 2014; as specifically implemented in Bevan and Crema 2018: modelTest, 236 'uncalsample'). Deviations above and below the 95% confidence limits of the envelope respectively indicate periods of population growth and decline greater than expected according 237 238 a logistic model of population growth. However, it is important to recognize that a logistic 239 model cannot strickly be considered as a realistic model for population growth, but rather as 240 an elementary model useful for quantitatively testing population fluctuations (cf. Turchin

1 The analysis has been performed in R v. 3.3.3 by using the package *rcarbon* developed by Crema and Bevan (2018).

241 2001). In this case, a logistic model was selected as a more suitable option as opposed to other

possible null-models (e.g. uniform, exponential) given the observed shape of radiocarbon date
SPDs in our study area (see Fig. 5).

As proxies for past population estimates from the SPDs of radiocarbon dates can be used as recently as ~3000 Cal yr BP in Morocco, that is prior to the historical time period when archaeological chronologies rely more on specific evidence such as datable coins, written source and fine-ware pottery rather than on radiometric dating.

248 Chemical elements

249 A chemical elements analysis was carried out, using potable X-ray fluorescence (XRF) 250 technique, on a sediment core retrieved in Ait Ichou swamp in the south of the Middle Atlas (Tabel et al., 2016). XRF analyses allowed the variation of more than 20 chemical elements to 251 252 be measured over the past 25,000 years covered by the Ait Ichou core. However, only four chemical elements were used in this study (figure 6). These elements are iron (Fe), lead (Pb), 253 254 zinc (Zn) and copper (Cu). These elements were selected as indicators of human activity and 255 marked increase of their concentration in the sedimentary record is related to different human activities in the area. 256

257 **Results**

258 The compiled fossil pollen data-set (figure 1A) and archaeological radiocarbon dates 259 (figure 1B) allow us to reconstruct of several anthropogenic markers (figure 2), past plant taxonomic richness (figure 3), natural composition of past ecosystems (figure 4) as well human 260 261 demography changes (figure 5) during the Holocene. The anthropogenic pollen markers allow us to identify of potential relationships between natural ecosystems and superimposed human 262 disturbances. A spatial and temporal analysis of these pollen markers may provide information 263 on the timing of human interference throughout the Holocene and the types of impact. The 264 265 proportions of the reconstructed anthropogenic markers correlate with the estimated human demography, which may provide information about the intensity of human impacts on the 266 267 landscape.

The archaeo-demographic results (Figure 5) show some significant overall departures 268 269 of the SPD of observed data from the envelope of the logistic model (p = 0.006), which indicates 270 that population did not grow logistically from 10,000 to 3000 BP in Morocco. The population 271 was greater than predicted by the logistic null model in the Middle Holocene between ~7200-272 6700 cal. BP and ~6300-6200 cal. BP. In contrast, population was significantly below expected values in the Early Holocene (~9200-9000 cal. BP, ~8450-8370 cal. BP and ~8200-8000 cal. 273 BP). Another marked decline in population occurs during 4800-4500 cal. BP. Generally, the 274 275 level of population was lower in the Early Holocene and started increasing substantially with the onset of the Neolithic in the 8th millennium cal BP. The duration of these periods of 276 277 decreasing and increasing human population differ and varies between ca. one and ca. four 278 centuries (figure 5).

279 The anthropogenic pollen markers API, ANH and CC show a marked increase (figure 2) 280 that matches the first significant expansion of human populations between 7180 and 6740 cal 281 BP (event 4 in figure 5). This first increase in pollen indicators of human activity is recorded 282 mainly in the lowland sites rather than in the Rif and Atlas Mountains. The arboreal pollen percentages decrease most significantly within sites located at lower altitude. 283 Human 284 demographic changes (figure 5) and the three APMs (API, ANH and CC) from the lowland sites 285 are positively correlated (table 4). Pollen taxonomic richness shows a significant correlation with SPDs (table 4) with a marked increase between 7180 and 6740 then between 6330 and 286 6240 when human population also increased (events 4 and 5). This correlation is more 287

288 significant in sites located in the lowlands than in the Rif and Atlas Mountains (figure 3). Periods 289 of decreasing human population (events 1, 2, 3 and 6, figure 5) are not marked in the lowlands 290 or in the mountains. In order to evaluate the impact of human demographic changes on natural ecosystems we have reconstructed four groups of vegetation (figure 4, table 3), which are well 291 defined in Morocco (Quézel and Médail, 2003) and pollen grains representing these plant 292 293 species have been identified in the fossil records. These vegetation groups include montane 294 conifers, deciduous trees, evergreen trees and shrubs and steppic plants (figure 4). None of 295 these groups shows a significant correlation with human demographic changes during the 296 Holocene (table 4) and none of the human population increases (event 4 and 5) or decreases 297 (events 1, 2, 3 and 6) clearly reflect changes in any vegetation group.

298 Discussion

The modern challenges facing the Mediterranean region in terms of managing the impacts of both the climate change and human population growth are intensifying. Human pressures on Mediterranean biodiversity has steadily increased over the last century and reached a critical threshold within the last few decades. Understanding of past relationships between human demography and ecosystem changes is paramount to managing ongoing landscape changes and requires studies integrating longer time scales than the last few decades.

305 Morocco is within the Mediterranean floristic area, which is considered a hotspot of 306 biodiversity (Myers et al. 2000) with approximately 22% of endemic vascular plants (Rankou 307 et al. 2013). Due to the geographical expansion of human population and related activities, several species have become extinct over the last century and many species are endangered or 308 309 in threat of extinction today (IUCN, 2018). Forest cover in Morocco has been decreasing steadily 310 and substantially over the past century (Kaplan et al. 2009) and all ecosystems, from the seashore to the highest elevation mountains, have been impacted by expanding human 311 312 activities and increasing exploitation of ecosystem resources. For example, cedar forest cover 313 in the Rif Mountains has decreased by about 75% over the last 50 years, from more than 45k ha to ca. 10k ha today (Cheddadi et al. 2017). Simultaneously, human population more than 314 315 quintupled between 1900 and 2014, from ca. 6 to ca. 34 million inhabitants. In this context, 316 today more than ever it is important to analyze and understand past impacts of human 317 demographic change on different ecosystem types. The Neolithic is a very interesting period for exploring the impact of early human expansions and regressions, on landscapes and the 318 319 increasingly complex ways in which such activities are superimposed on climate change 320 records. This may help to evaluate the ecosystem's capacity for adaptation and resilience to the 321 combined effects of natural and human induced changes.

Evaluation of human demography during the Neolithic can be performed using 322 radiocarbon dates available from archaeological sites and *ad hoc* statistical tools (Crema et al. 323 2016; Gamble et al. 2004; Palmisiano et al., 2017; Shennan et al. 2013; Williams 2012). 324 325 However, one should be cautious as archaeological sites are often not exhaustively studied and there may be important differences in the number of dates available at each site. This is clearly 326 the case for Morocco where the number of ¹⁴C dates used in this study could certainly be 327 improved with additional archaeological sites and more ¹⁴C dates per site. Other additional 328 329 potential biases related to ¹⁴C date measurements and their calibration may also introduce some errors in estimating human demographic trends using SPDs (Shennan et al. 2013), as well 330 331 as the duration of the expansion/regression of human populations (Manning et al. 2014). Used 332 as a demographic proxy, SPDs may reflect only a local (or regional) expansion of human 333 population rather than representing a spatially large spread (Shennan et al. 2013).

There is a large literature focused on human expansion and related activities in the Mediterranean basin during the Neolithic (summarized in Shennan, 2018). However, the timing

of expansion and, the type and intensity of the impacts are not synchronous and probably not 336 337 comparable throughout the Mediterranean region. Today, human population in Morocco is composed mainly of Berbers (autochthonous population) and Arabs. Genetic analyses of North-338 339 Western African populations reveal that lineages of different Berber groups may date back to 340 at least the last glacial period and that the omnipresence of a certain mitochondrial DNA motif 341 suggests a continuous presence of these populations in Morocco over more than 20,000 years 342 (Rando et al., 1998). All recent genetic studies agree that the spread of human populations in 343 North Africa originated from the East-West (Bentayebi et al. 2014), rather than originating from 344 sub-Saharan populations (Desanges, 1981). The genetic contribution of sub-Saharan 345 populations to the modern North African populations seems to be minor (Bosch et al., 1997; 346 Brakez et al., 2001). Recent archaeological findings in Northern Morocco indicate the absence 347 of Saharan influences during the Early Neolithic until 6.0 cal ka BP (Linstädter et al., 2018). 348 Thus, even if the timing, continuity and degree of expansion of the migrating original 349 populations is still under scientific debate, the Eastern origin of the modern North African 350 populations is now genetically proven. Rando et al. (1998) state that the modern dominating 351 lineages arrived in North Africa, during the Mesolithic and Neolithic in waves while Arredi et al. (2004) propose that the Neolithic transition in North Africa was accompanied by demic 352 353 diffusion (see Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1993). The marked variations in ¹⁴C date SPDs (figure 5) and the discontinuous occurrences of the fossil anthropogenic markers (figure 2) suggest that 354 human population in Morocco did not increase steadily during the Holocene, but involved 355 356 marked periods of 'booms' and 'busts' that impacted upon the landscape intermittently. These 357 past demographic variations (figure 5) and discontinuous landscape changes could probably 358 have resulted from waves of immigrating populations rather than demic diffusion into Morocco 359 during the Holocene.

The SPD data suggest that human demography fluctuated during the Holocene with two 360 361 periods of noticeable population increase and four others with noticeable population decrease 362 (figure 5; table 4). Human population increased substantially with the onset of the Atlantic 363 Neolithic around 7400/7300 cal BP. In agreement with the SPD data, pollen markers of cultures 364 and crops and farming increased in sites located at low elevation. The correlation between the 365 anthropogenic markers and SPD (table 5) suggests that human impact was not only local or 366 regional, but probably took place over a larger area. However, this positive correlation is based 367 on only five lowland records, which includes two Holocene archaeological sites (figure 1B, table 368 1) and three pollen records that encompass the second half of the Holocene (younger than 6500 369 cal. BP). To confirm that human impact in the lowlands was spatially more extended would 370 require additional Holocene data from off-site contexts, such as lake sediments at low elevation. 371 The pollen records available in the Rif and Atlas Mountains are more numerous, well dated and 372 many of them encompass the entire Holocene (table 1). In these montane records we do not 373 observe a significant correlation between the APMs and SPDs (table 5) which supports the 374 interpretation that human imprints were probably restricted to the lowland areas during the Early Neolithic. Archaeological findings in the Moroccan coastal areas and lowlands confirm the 375 presence of cultivated landscapes as early as ca. 7000 cal BP (Ballouche and Marinval 2003; 376 377 Linstädter et al. 2016; López-Sáez and López-Merino, 2008; López-Sáez et al., 2013; Morales et al. 2013; Zapata et al. 2013). At higher elevations, several palaeoecological studies indicate late 378 379 Holocene human impacts on ecosystems in the Atlas and the Rif Mountains (Abel-Schaad et al. 380 2018; Campbell et al., 2017; Cheddadi et al. 2015; Lamb et al. 1991; Reille 1977; Zielhofer et al. 381 2017). The low correlation between forest ecosystems (figure 4), which occur mainly in the 382 mountain areas, and SPDs (table 5) suggest a lower level of human impact at higher elevations. 383 Inhabitants of the Moroccan mountains may have included populations of hunters-gatherers 384 rather than farmers, which could have delayed the expansion of cultivation and food production 385 "technologies" (Bosch et al. 1997) and, therefore, may explain the absence or low level of human 386 imprints during the Early Neolithic in the Rif and Atlas Mountains. Prior to the first period of significant human expansion (ca. 7400 cal BP) there are high values of OJCV (>10%) that are 387 388 dominated by Olea pollen percentages, which may be interpreted as related to early 389 domestication of the olive tree in Morocco. However, these high Olea occurrences are recorded 390 during a time span of significantly lower human population (figure 2). The increase in Olea 391 pollen percentages during the early Holocene in Morocco likely corresponds to the spread of 392 wild stands (oleaster) under a warmer early Holocene climate (Cheddadi et al. 1998) rather 393 than to early domestication of the olive tree (see Langgut et al., this volume).

Reconstructed pollen taxonomic richness (figure 3) is not well correlated with human demographic changes either in the lowlands or in the mountainous sites (table 5, figure 3), which suggests that either human demographic fluctuations had a minor impact on the structure and composition of the ecosystems or that such ecosystems are highly resilient. This reflects the characteristics of modern Mediterranean ecosystems, which are considered highly resilient to human disturbances due to their high ecological diversity (Lavorel, 1999; Pausas et al. 2008).

401 After the first major increase in human population (7180-6740 cal BP) we observe a 402 quasi-steady decreasing trend, which reached a noticeable SPD minimum between ca. 4820 and 403 ca. 4530 cal BP (figure 5). The anthropogenic markers (API, ANH and CC) also decreased in the 404 lowlands and remained low in the Rif and Atlas Mountains (figure 2) during this time, which is 405 coherent with the reconstructed decreasing trend in human population. Within the Rif 406 Mountain archaeological sites cereals and anthropogenic herbs decreased between 6700 and 407 6000 cal BP, indicating reduced grazing and cultivation activities (Linstädter et al. 2016). The 408 SPD data indicate that human population remained low until 4000 cal BP, which probably 409 marks the end of the Neolithic in Morocco.

Unlike other parts of the Mediterranean, the metal ages (Bronze, Copper, Iron) are not 410 411 well dated in Morocco. X-Ray fluorescence measurements of the fossil record in the southern 412 part of the Middle Atlas (Tabel et al. 2016) show that iron (Fe), lead (Pb), copper (Cu) and zinc 413 (Zn) started to increase significantly after 4000 cal BP (figure 6) which seems to be earlier than 414 in other parts of the Mediterranean (Van Der Plicht et al. 2009), and coherent with earlier archaeological studies in Morocco (Daugas et al. 1998; Ballouche and Marinval 2003). Chemical 415 416 elements (Fe, Cu, Zn and Pb) are often associated with human activities during the metal ages 417 (i.e. the Bronze and Iron Ages) probably mark the beginning of an "industrial" period dedicated 418 to their extraction. The SPD data cover the period between 10000 and 3000 cal BP, which does 419 not allow exploration of human demographic changes during the Iron age. In the northern part 420 of the Middle Atlas, and increase in lead concentration (Pb) in a fossil record (Nour El Bait et al. 421 2014) started around 2000 cal BP, which corresponds to the beginning of the Roman presence 422 in Morocco. In the Rif Mountains, the geochemical content of several records show similar 423 changes to those of the Middle Atlas after 2000 cal BP and are clearly related to Roman 424 industrial activities, which started to impact upon mountain ecosystems, such as through the 425 degradation of the Atlas cedar forests (Cheddadi et al. 2015). The impact of Roman activities in 426 Morocco seems to have been more critical for forest ecosystems with a decrease in arboreal 427 pollen percentages (figure 2), particularly those of the deciduous and evergreen trees (figure 428 4).

It is interesting to note that taxonomic diversity, as detected by pollen records, (figure 3) was not altered during the Neolithic nor the Bronze/Iron Ages and not even during the Roman period. Today, areas rich in endemic species are threatened by the wide range of human activities particularly in areas identified as biodiversity hotspots such as the Mediterranean (e.g. Cincotta et al. 2000). Pollen taxonomic richness in Morocco actually shows a relatively

434 steady increase throughout the Holocene and increases more over so throughout the last 3000 435 years during the metal ages. Elsewhere, several paleoecological studies have also shown that 436 the last thousand years of the Holocene are marked by an increase in pollen taxa richness (e.g. Birks and Line 1992; Lotter 1998), which is paradoxical with the modern negative impacts of 437 human activities on ecosystems and their species richness, but perhaps consistent with the 438 439 well-known (but debated) intermediate-disturbance hypothesis (e.g. Fox, 2013). Unlike during 440 the modern industrial era, human activities during earlier periods of the Holocene, which 441 mainly involved livestock grazing and cultivation, were excellent means for the dispersal of 442 seeds, propagation of domesticated plants and the dispersal of ruderal plants that are often 443 subservient to crops.

Our study suggests that there are major differences between past and modern human 444 activities, such as modern artificial reduction of species ranges through the industrial 445 446 exploitation of forest resources (e.g. Pearson and Dawson 2003), mono-specific plantations over large areas (Brockerhoff et al. 2008), the introduction of invasive and alien plant species 447 448 which strongly and negatively disturb ecosystem composition (Thuiller et al. 2005), the 449 widespread use of herbicides and pesticides, and the abruptness of ongoing climate change 450 (http://www.ipcc.ch/) which restricts species ranges. Modern human activities are causing 451 rapid, novel, and substantial changes to Earth's ecosystems (Vitousek et al. 1997; Nolan et al., 452 2018) that we have not observed in our Holocene records in Morocco.

453 Conclusions

The last 10,000 years represent an informative time span encompassing the spectrum of natural to anthropogenic forcing, which includes a period of natural climatic changes, with negligible human impact in the early Holocene, followed by a period of interplay between natural and anthropogenic impacts with the expansion of human populations.

458 The archaeological and environmental data used in this study indicate that prior to 7400 459 cal BP human populations had a limited impact on the lowland landscape and mountain ecosystems. The earliest significant expansion of human population in Morocco during the 460 Holocene took place around 7000 cal BP and it is marked in the fossil pollen record by an 461 462 increase in farming indicators, particularly crop pollen markers. This time span is a few 463 hundred years later than the beginning of the Neolithic period in Morocco and ends around 464 4000 cal BP when iron, copper and zinc content started to increase in sedimentary records. 465 Geochemical elements were extracted to make metal tools, which marks the end of the Neolithic 466 period and probably the beginning of a prehistoric metallurgical industry era. We observe that 467 several anthropogenic indicators increase when human population increases. Likewise, natural ecosystem changes, including forest species, are negatively or positively impacted by an 468 469 increase or a decrease in human population size during the Holocene, respectively.

The correlations we have performed between ¹⁴C date SPDs, as a proxy for population change, and the fossil pollen data suggest that:

(1) early expansion of human populations around 7000 cal BP took place mainly in the lowlands and if there was a spread towards the mountain areas then it was either minor or the spreading populations had a negligible impact on natural ecosystems. However, early Holocene anthropogenic evidence is derived from very few lowland sites. To confirm whether there was a more extensive vegetation change additional data from archaeological off-site contexts, such as lake sediments, are still needed.

478 (2) the principal human activity detected in the lowland records involved grazing and479 farming until ca. 4000 cal BP.

(3) plant domestication seems not to have taken place before the early expansion ofhuman populations in Morocco, which is recorded during the Neolithic around 7000 cal BP.

The conclusions drawn in the present study have potential to be clarified through
integration of additional archaeological sites with more radiocarbon dates and new fossil pollen
records from lower elevations areas.

485 Acknowledgements

This work stems from a workshop dedicated to the Leverhulme Trust-funded project
'Changing the face of the Mediterranean: land cover and population since the advent of farming'
organized in Mallorca in September 2017.

489

491 Figure 1. A. Location of the fossil pollen records (red stars) used for reconstructing 492 anthropogenic markers, vegetation groups and pollen taxonomic richness. Pollen record 493 numbers refer to table 1. B. Location of the archaeological sites (blue stars) from which we have 494 obtained ¹⁴C measurements for evaluating past changes in human population in Morocco (SPD). 495

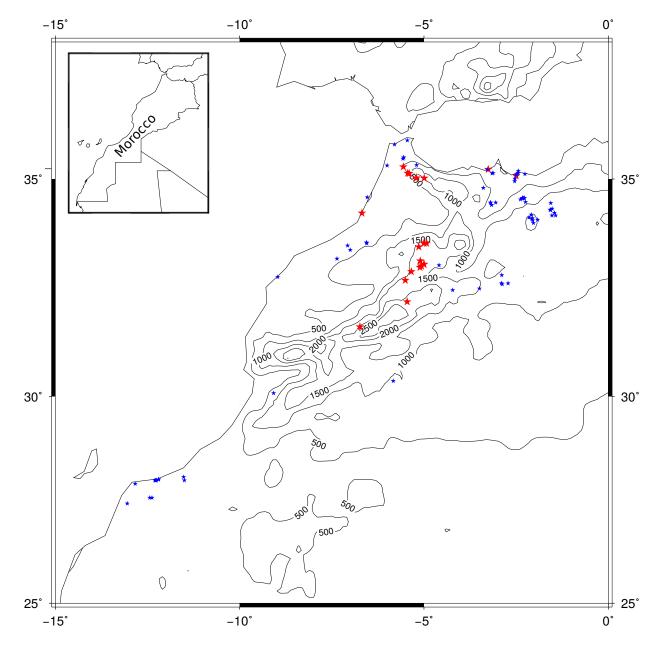
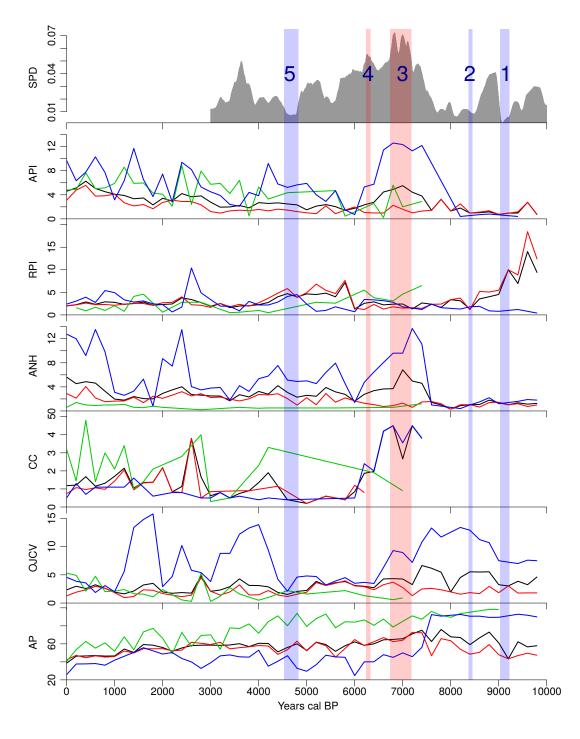
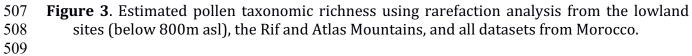
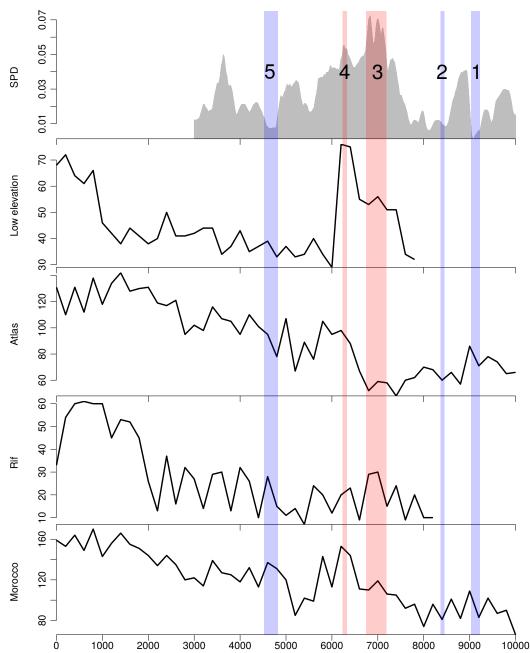
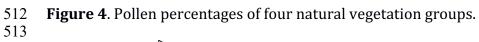


Figure 2. Percentages of anthropogenic pollen markers (API, RPI, ANH, CC and OJCV) and
arboreal pollen taxa (AP) during the Holocene in the Atlas mountains (red), the Rif
mountains (green), the lowlands (sites below 800m asl, blue) and Morocco (black, including
all pollen records). API = Anthropogenic Pollen index, RPI = Regional Pastoral indicators,
ANH = Anthropogenic nitrophilous herbs, CC= Cultures and crops and OJCV = *Olea-Juglans-Castanea-Vitis.*











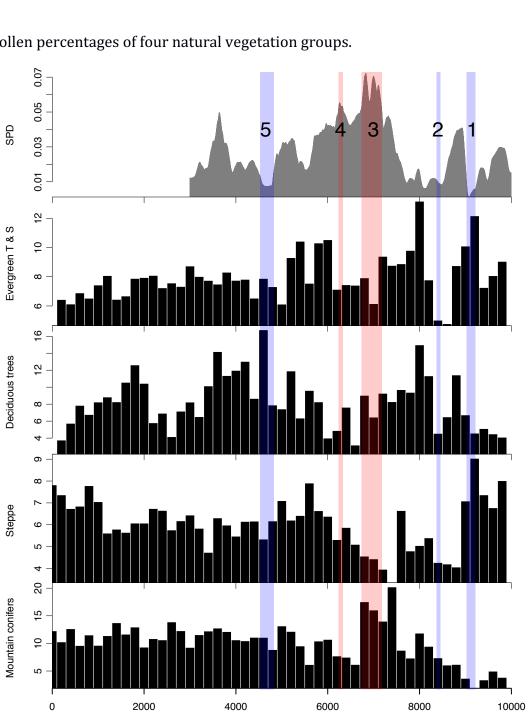


Figure 5. Summed Probability Distribution (SPD) of unnormalised calibrated radiocarbon dates vs. a fitted logistic null model (95 % confidence grey envelope). Blue and red bands indicate that chronological ranges within the observed SPD deviates negatively and positively from the null model and corresponds to four significant decreases in human population (events 1, 2, 3 and 6) and two significant increases (events 4 and 5). The Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic periods have been defined according to Linstädter et al. (2018) in Northern Morocco.

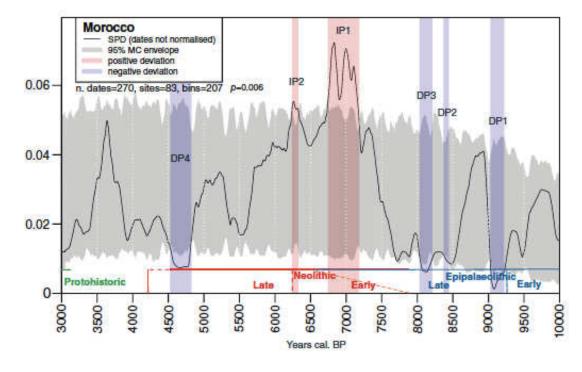


Figure 6. X-Ray measurements of Iron (Fe), Copper (Cu), Lead (Pb) and Zinc (Zn) in the Ait
 Ichou fossil record collected in the Middle Atlas (Tabel et al., 2016)

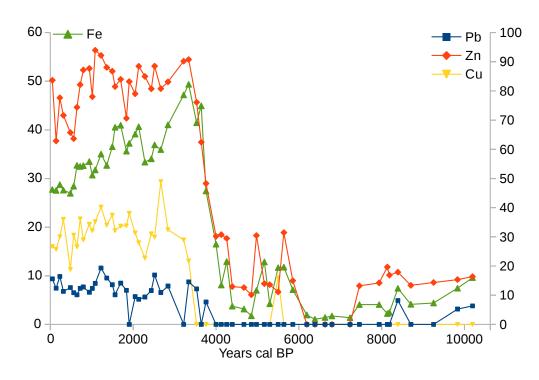


Table 1. Pollen records used in the present study (displayed in figure 1A). All pollen records

529 from Reille (1976, 1977 and 1979) have been digitized from the original published pollen

530 diagrams and the raw data computed using the pollen sums.

Site Name	Location	Elevation	Time span (approx)	Authors
Aanasser	Rif	1342	0-4000	Reille, 1977, Cheddadi et al., 2015; 2017
Abartete	Rif	1260	0-8000	Reille, 1976
Bab El Karn	Rif	1178	0-9000	Cheddadi et al., 2016
Col de Zad	Middle Atlas	2138	0-3000	Reille, 1976
Hachlaf	Middle Atlas	1700	0-6000; 0-16000	Nourelbait et al., 2016; Tabel & Cheddadi, unpublished
lfrah	Middle Atlas	1610	4500-25000	Cheddadi et al., 2009
lfri nEtsedda	Rif	300	4500-10000	Linstädter et al., 2016
Ifri Oudadane	Rif	50	6000-10000	Zapata et al., 2013
Iguerda-Ait-Amama	Middle Atlas	2052	0-2500	Reille, 1976
lshou	Middle Atlas	1608	0-23000	Tabel et al., 2016
Marzine	Rif	1400	0-2000	Reille, 1976
Mhad	Rif	754	0-6000	Cheddadi et al., 2015; 2017
Ras El Ma	Middle Atlas	1633	0-18000	Nourelbait et al., 2014
Sidi Ali	Middle Atlas	2080	0-7500; 0-12000	Lamb et al., 1999; Zielhofer et al., 2017
Sidi bou Ghaba	Rabat province	20	0-6500	Reille, 1979
Tanakob	Rif	726	0-1200	Reille, 1976
Tessaout	High Atlas	2040	0-6000	Reille, 1976
Tifounassine	Middle Atlas	1921	0-13000	Tabel & Cheddadi, unpublished data
Tigalmamine	Middle Atlas	1626	0-10000	Lamb et al., 1995
Tizi Ninouzane	High Atlas	2591	0-2500	Reille, 1976

Table 2. Taxa used to identify different human impacts within the Moroccan pollen records:
 Anthropogenic Pollen index = API; Regional Pastoral indicators =RPI; Anthropogenic
 nitrophilous herbs = ANH; Cultures and crops = CC; *Olea-Juglans-Castanea-Vitis* = OJCV.

537

CC	API	API	
Cerealia-type	Asteraceae subf. Cichorioideae	Urtica	
Corealta	Cannabaceae/Urticaceae	Urtica atrovirens	
Secule	Centaurea	Urtica atrovirens-type	
Zaa mays	Centaurea cyanus	Urtica cf. U. diolca	
	Centaurea cyanus-type	Urtica cf. U. pilulifera	
OJCV	Centaurea scabiosa	Urtica diolca	
Castanea sativa	Centaurea scabiosa-type	Urtica dioica-type	
Juglans	Centaurea undiff.	Urtica dubla-type	
uglans regla	Caraalta	Urtica Indeterminata	
Olas	Cerealta (excl. Secale)	Untica pilulifera	
Olea europaea	Cerealia Indeterminata	Urtica pilulifera-type	
Oleaceae	Cerealta sp.	Urtica undiff.	
Vittis	Carealta undiff.	Urtica urens	
Vitis vinifera	Carealia-type	Urtica-type	
	Cerealia-type (excl. Secale)	Urtica/Humulus	
RPI	Cerealia-type cf.Avena/Triticum-group	Urtica/Parletaria	
Cirsium	Cerealta-type cf. Hordeum-group	Urticaceae	
Cirsium-type	Cerealta-type undiff.	Urticaceae undiff.	
Gallum	Carealta-type/Secale	Urticaceae/Moraceae	
Galum-type	Cerealia-type/Triticum	Litticales	
Plantago lanceolata	Cerealla-type/Tritticum/Avena		
Plantago pp.	Cercalia-type/Zea		
Potentila	Carealta/Avena-type		
Potentilla undiff.	Carealta/Hordeum-type		
Potentilla-type	Cerealta/Secale		
Ranunculaceae	Cerealia/Triticum-type		
	d. Urtica		
ANH	Compositae subf. Cichorioideae		
Anthemis-type	Humulus/Cannabis/Urtica		
Aster-type	Plantago		
Boraginaceae	Plantago cf. P coronopus		
Centaurea	Plantago cf. P. lanceolata		
Centauras collina	Plantago cf. P. major		
Centaurea cyanus	Plantago cf. P. media		
Centaurea nigra-type	Plantago coronopus		
Contranthus	Plantago coronopus-type		
Cirsium			
	Plantago lanceolata		
Cirsium-type Convolvulaceae	Plantago lanceolata-type		
Convolvulus	Plantago major		
and the second se	Plantago major-type Plantago major/P. maritima		
Dipsacaceae			
Echlum	Plantago major/P. media		
Erodium-type	Plantago major/P. media-type		
Erynglum	Plantago major/P. minor-type		
Galium	Plantago maritima		
Galium-typa	Plantago maritima-type		
Gerankiceae	Plantago maritima/P alpina		
Geranium	Plantago media		
Geranium-type	Plantago media-typa		
Homiarta	Plantago sp.		
Hernlaria-type	Plantago undiff.		
Malva sylvestris-type	Plantago-type		
Malva-type	Secale cereale		
Malvaceae	Trifollum		
Portulaca oleracea	Trtfollum undiff.		
Solanum nigrum-type	Trtfollum-type		

API = Anthropogenic Pollen Index; RPI = regional pastoral indicators; ANH = Anthropogenic nitrophilous herbs; CC = cultures and crops; OJCV: Olea-Jugians-Castanea-Vitis.

Table 3. Pollen taxa grouped in the four natural vegetation groups

Conifer trees	Deciduous Trees	Steppe	Evergreen shrubs and trees
Abies	Acer	Aster-type	Acacia
Cedrus	Alnus	Artemisia	Adenocarpus
Cupressaceae	Carpinus	Asphodeline	Buxus
Juniperus	Carpinus betulus-type	Asphodelus	Ceratonia
Taxus baccata	Castanea	Asteraceae subf. Asteroideae	Ceratonia siliqua
Tetraclinis articulata	Celtis	Asteraceae subf. Cichorioideae	Cistus ladanifer-type
	Corylus	Centaurea	Cistaceae
	Fraxinus	Centaurea cyanus	Coniferae (vesiculate)
	Juglans	Centaurea cyanus-type	Cupressus
	Ostrya	Centaurea nigra-type	Cytisus-type
	Ostrya/Carpinus orientalis-type	Chenopodiaceae	Erica arborea-type
	Populus	Compositae subf. Cichorioideae	Genista-type
	Prunus-type	Cyperaceae	Ilex
	Quercus canariensis	Dipsacaceae	Laurus
	Quercus canariensis-type	Dipsacus	Lavandula stoechas-type
	Quercus cf. Q. canariensis	Ephedra	Ligustrum
	Quercus faginea	Ephedra distachya	Myrtaceae
	Quercus pyrenaica	Ephedra distachya-type	Myrtus communis
	Quercus robur-type	Ephedra fragilis	Olea
	Salix	Ephedra fragilis-type	Oleaceae
	Tilia	Poaceae	Phillyrea
	Ulmus	Sanguisorba minor	Phillyrea latifolia
		Scabiosa	Pinus
		Thymelaeaceae	Pinus halepensis
			Pinus halepensis/P. Pinea-type
			Pinus pinaster
			Pistacia
			Quercus
			Quercus coccifera
			Quercus ilex
			Quercus ilex-type
			Quercus rotundifolia
			Quercus suber
			Rhamnaceae
			Rhamnus
			Rhamnus alaternus-type
			Ribes
			Ruscus
			Tamarix
			Viburnum
			Vitis
			Ziziphus

547	
548	Table 4 . Demographic peaks or troughs with statistically significant deviation from null model
549	(see Fig. 5). The dates summarise the duration of these events:

	0)		
550				
551	Event	Start (cal BP)	End (cal BP)	Duration (years)
552	1	9220	9030	190
553	2	8450	8370	80
554	3	8210	8030	180
555	4	7180	6740	440
556	5	6330	6240	90
557	6	4820	4530	290
558				
550				

Table 5. Spearman's correlation coefficients between the pollen percentages of different

563 anthropogenic markers (ANH, API, CC, OJCV, RPI), vegetation groups and arboreal pollen (AP)

564 from fossil pollen records and archaeo-demographic datasets (SPD) by region and elevation

565 for the period 10000-3000 cal BP. Statistical significance: green: 0.05>P value>0.001; red: P

566 value < 0.001

	Morocco	Atlas	Rif	Low elevation
AP	0,26	0,4	0,3	-0,09
ANH	0,63	-0,12	0,22	0,59
API	0,61	0,05	0,13	0,61
CC	0,7	0,16	0,03	0,74
OJCV	0,24	0,5	0,11	0,1
RPI	-0,17	-0,23	0,61	0,06
Taxa diversity	0,26	-0.19	0,31	0,51
Conifers	0,48			
Deciduous	-0,16			
Evergreen	-0,13			
Steppe	-0,33			

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